

ANNEX

Preparations for Clandestine Activity in Western Europe.

Introduction

1. So many reports have been received from all quarters to the effect that the West European Communist Parties are "preparing for clandestine activity" that it is felt that an attempt should be made to draw them together and as far as possible elucidate them. This is by no means an easy task. In the first place there is, naturally enough, no overt information against which to check secret reports. In the second place it is clear that a good deal of re-organization is in any case taking place in the "normal" structures of some Parties and there is therefore a continual possibility that information on that subject will overlap and confuse information about truly clandestine and truly illegal organization. Lastly the term "clandestine activity" is itself capable of more than one interpretation.

2. We may distinguish the following seven meanings for the term clandestine activity:-

- (1) Suppression by the Party of information about normal legal Party activities. This may be because the Party fears repressive measures or because it wishes to train members in the technique of doing business secretly or because decisions are being taken by which it is hoped to secure a tactical surprise in the industrial or political fields. This technique is a commonplace of Party activity at particular times and places.
- (2) Plans and instructions passed secretly through the normal Party and mass organization structure for the carrying out of actions themselves illegal. An example of this kind of activity was the campaign of "Mass sabotage" against the unloading of American war material in West European ports.
- (3) The planning of a new Party organization to be put into effect if and when the Party is legally proscribed. Such action is expected of all Parties in times of crisis.
- (4) The putting into effect of such plans.
- (5) The secret planning of special organizations designed to carry out acts of violence or disruption in

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

time of war or revolution.

(6) The putting into effect of such plans.

(7) The creation of special secret organizations designed to carry out violent or illegal acts in time of peace while the Party itself is legally recognized.

3. The greater part of our information on this subject comes from France and as some part of the French material is more obscure and also more "alarming" than the rest it has been placed last so that the general tone of the rest may be appreciated first. Nearly all the sources of the information which follows have proved reliable in the past; some are official.

AUSTRIA

4. In about November 1950 the Central Committee is reported to have instructed two Land committees to arrange for the election and training of deputies for party functionaries down to factory cell level. A member of the Central Committee explained that these deputies would be needed in case known officials were arrested or otherwise prevented from carrying out their duties, as had happened during the October strikes.

5. At the same time a third cadre of functionaries was to be selected, down to section level. This was to consist of reliable members who did not hold official positions in the Party and would not be allowed to do so in future. The Central Committee would be responsible for the final decision on the composition of this third cadre. The same Central Committee member interpreted this as a precaution in case the KPOe was outlawed by the Government, which he did not consider likely so long as the USSR remained one of the occupying powers.

6. The KPOe Central Committee instructed local offices to arrange for property belonging to the Party to be registered in the names of private individuals, preferable not known to be Communists.

BELGIUM

7. It was reported in September 1950 that Raymond DISPY was drawing up plans for the PCB to go underground in the event of persecution. Details of these plans are not available.

DENMARK

8. The Central Committee of the DKP issued verbal instructions in November 1950 that information on organization and membership should be regarded as semi-secret, in view of the in-

~~SECRET~~

increased anti-Communist measures recently taken by the Western Powers. Correspondence referring to senior officials was to be sent by hand and not by post.

GERMANY
WT BERLIN

9. In September 1950 the Berlin Land Committee of the SED ordered that all Party records and documents not essential for daily routine should be removed from branch offices in the W. Sectors to SED Land HQ in the Soviet Sector. Arrangements were also made to form the most reliable members into special groups of ten, such groups being the only ones allowed to handle written material. These groups were to practice holding meetings under cover of social gatherings in private houses and cafes. (Note: this followed a ban on public meetings of the SED in W. Berlin imposed shortly before.)

GERMANY
W. ZONES

10. Early in August 1950 the KPD arranged for files no longer required to be stored at private addresses considered safe. Officials at Party HQ were made personally responsible for custody of documents in use by them, papers giving the private address of Party members were removed from offices, and various other security precautions were introduced. Orders were also issued that typewriters, office furniture etc. should be made over to individual Party members, so that requisitioning could be avoided in the event of the Party being declared illegal.

11. Local branches were instructed to obtain typewriters and duplicators to be used for producing news sheets. A number of such bulletins were subsequently issued.

12. According to an unconfirmed report, the KPD Central Committee discussed a proposal to set up a covert organization alongside the official one in September 1950, and subsequently decided against it, owing to the lack of capable Communists who could serve as functionaries in such an organization.

13. It is perhaps worth noting that the KPD Chairman, Max REIMANN, whose parliamentary immunity was lifted at the end of July, has since been in hiding. His subsequent movements are not known, but there are indications that he has been present at several private meetings in the Western Zones.

(Note: In August and September 1950 the Allied and Federal German authorities took certain action against the KPD, including a temporary ban on the publication of almost all KPD newspapers, and the confiscation of a large quantity of propaganda

~~SECRET~~

material. In September the KPD central office in Dusseldorf was raided by the police and later requisitioned.)

ITALY

14. Although nothing is known at present of the P.C.I.'s preparations for a clandestine existence, information has been received showing how the P.C.I. envisages its preparations for para-military role in war. The function of the Party must of course be to prevent the national armed forces from resisting the Red Army. To this end efforts must be made to penetrate the Army with Party cells to the extent that if war were to come there would be no difficulty in finding troops to join partisan forces or hand over arms to the Party. Para-military troops to obtained would be greatly reinforced from A.N.P.I. the Italian ex-partisan organization.

(Dept. Note: The tactics of securing Party armed forces and at the same time disrupting the national Army by creating a secret Party organization in the Army is in accord with the line taken by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. We know from other sources that the F.G.C.I. (the Communist youth organization) is specially concerned with this task. This therefore is the "clandestine" aspect of the emphasis on Party work among youth, noted in the body of the main report.

It is worthy of note that the source from which the foregoing information was obtained makes it clear that in the part of Italy known to him no para-military squads have been set up.)

FRANCE

15. Available information concerning France is far more complex than that affecting the rest of Western Europe. There are five strands in it:-

- (1) Apparent changes in the method of control of normal Party activity viz. the allocation of responsibility for Federations to individual members of the Central Committee.
- (2) Secrecy and actual deception with regard to important Party meetings.
- (3) The planning of the Party's organization in the event of proscription.

(4) The reformation of the veterans associations on new lines and consideration of a maquis organization.

(5) The reorganization of the foreign language groups.

(1) From recent pronouncements by Auguste LECOEUR it appears that Central Committee members are allotted Federations as their personal responsibility. One effect of this has been the preparation of Federation Plans de Travail mentioned in paragraph 30 of the main report. These are quite "normal". However there have been reports that certain Central Committee members on routine visits to Federations carry instructions not only from LECOEUR but also from MAUVAIS the supplanted Organization Secretary of the P.C.F. now concerned with the preparation of the Party for a possible clandestine existence.

(2) A Federal Committee meeting due to be held in November was officially postponed until December and then officially cancelled in favour of a "soiree artistique" in honour of the 30th anniversary of the Party. It was subsequently discovered however, that a "restricted" meeting of the Federal Committee was held in camera on the original date in November under the presidency of a member of the Central Committee. "Humanite" had played its part in the affair by publicizing the false information about the postponement and cancellation of the meeting. Here we have the normal Party machine behaving clandestinely.

(3) Leon MAUVAIS is reported, in the teeth of public denials by the Communist Press, to be preparing the shadow organization of the Party, basing it primarily upon experienced cadres who proved themselves between 1941-1944. The form of organization is the traditional "groups of three". Men chosen for these groups are ordered to make themselves politically insignificant. This development has been reported on at another level by a completely independent source. It is also learned that the cadres Department of the P.C.F. has for some time been engaged in examining the war-time records of party veterans. The larger territorial divisions of the clandestine party will be large natural regions called, as in World War II "interregions." MAUVAIS is also reported by one source to be endeavouring to organize the Communist railway workers who could be used in the event of war to sabotage the transport of war materials.

(4) Two completely independent sources have reported that plans are being made to create a "maquis" in the region of the Italian frontier in the event of war. This is the most obscure part of the available information about France. It appears, however, as if the F.F.I. - F.T.P.F. organization of the Resistance period has undergone a purge of its non-Communist members and under cover of the "Association des Anciens F.F.I.-F.T.P.F." certain members have been appointed to run a maquis, having their own bureaux and being responsible to the "shadow organization" of

~~SECRET~~

the P.C.F.

(Dept. Note: Information about this development should, we think, be treated with reserve at present. If a serious attempt is being made to plan "maquis" more information about it will most probably come to hand. It does seem clear, however that, as in Italy, the veterans associations have been causing the Party some anxiety, have been subject to investigation and are undergoing reforms).

(5) The Foreign Cadres of the P.C.F.

(a) While in the case of the P.C.F., proper, thoughts of going underground or preparing for it are as far as we can see in no more than the stage described above, the same cannot be said for the measures the Party was forced to take to save the remnants of its foreign cadres after the major round up of Foreign Communists and the banning of their clubs and institutions in September 1950.

(b) Here the conditions created by the action of the French authorities necessitated a deliberate and urgent attempt on the part of the Party to conceal the former affiliations of foreigners with the P.C.F., and to provide such cover as would retain them on French soil for future use.

(c) From reports received from the different foreign minority groups involved the measures taken to this end appear to have conformed to the same pattern in every case. These have consisted in: -

- (i) the withdrawal from all foreigners of P.C.F. cards.
- (ii) prohibition from attending meetings of P.C.F. cells in which foreigners had formerly militated.
- (iii) dissolution of all foreign party groups affiliated to the P.C.F. (i.e. P.C.F. language groups) and inscription instead, of foreigners on the nominal role of the C.G.T. language groups with the corresponding issue to each of these of specially marked C.G.T. cards. Instructions were given that the work of foreign groups was henceforward to be continued under cover and within the framework of the C.G.T. only which, as a Trade Union Organization, the Party had rightly speculated was less likely to be affected by Police action.

(d) Such a measure was obviously intended as no more than a temporary one to mitigate the initial effect of the Police action

~~SECRET~~

and provide a breathing space in which new formulae could be worked out for regrouping the mauled and scattered foreign cadres of the Party into some cohesive form again.

(e) That such formulae have been, or are being, worked out there can, we think, be little doubt from a statement on this question made by a prominent Polish official, known to be connected with clandestine activities of Poles in France. In late November this individual stated that Police action against Polish organizations had proved to be the most welcome event in the life of the Party (presumably the French ramifications of the P.Z.P.R.). As long, he added, as open Polish organizations had existed, the clandestine side of Party work had been hampered by the necessity of complying with all kinds of registration, book-keeping, etc., and in addition, under cover police agents had had very easy access to all such organizations. Since all legal organizations had been abolished, however, the work of the Party had been reorganized on an underground and cadre basis and the Party "Apparat" was infinitely more efficient now than it had been before.

(f) What is meant by this or what may be the function of these newly streamlined foreign minority groups within the framework of the P.C.F.-C.G.T. it is difficult to say. Formerly the role of sections of the Polish and other language groups of the C.G.T. had consisted above all in stimulating and supporting local actions in which foreigners participated side by side with their French fellow workers. This practice, however, is likely to become more and more hazardous if the offensive of the French authorities against the P.C.F. and foreigners participating in its subversive ventures increases. One therefore can only conclude that unless the P.C.F. has good reason to expose its foreign cadres for further decimation, which seems unlikely, the only alternative left to it now and for some time to come is to keep them as quiet and inert as possible. A selection from among them might be available to certain specific intelligence or sabotage commitments but no longer it would seem for lending solidarity as in the past to broad subversive movements intended to embarrass the French Government.

(g) But if there is some doubt upon this point, none exists on the other hand regarding the identity of the Agency responsible for passing foreigners in France the instructions of the P.C.F., of acting as a managerial body for all foreign groups.

(h) This body about whose officials little is known is a commission of the Central Committee of the P.C.F. and is called the M.O.I. (Main d'Oeuvres Immigree or Internationale). Its headquarters are alleged to be at 18, Rue du Croissant. It played an important role in the removal of foreign cadres from the P.C.F. to the C.G.T.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(1) On the assumption that it will continue to manage the affairs of foreigners as in the past the following details available of its activities with Hungarians during the war will help to give an impression of what can be expected from foreign groups under its guidance in the future:-

- (i) In the period 1938-39 the M.O.I. orders were mainly concerned with welfare work undertaken by the Hungarian group in France on behalf of excombatants in the Spanish Civil War.
- (ii) In 1939 the M.O.I. instructed the Hungarian Group not to obey the French invitation for ex-Spanish Civil War combattants to join the French Foreign Legion and later, on the outbreak of war with the Germans instructed them to join the French Army. (This was done with an eye to the creation eventually of communist cells in the army.)
- (iii) In Autumn 1941 the M.O.I. acted as recruiting centre for foreign volunteers for the F.T.P. Once these were in the F.T.P. they ceased to come under the M.O.I. control. Recruits were recommended to M.O.I. by the Groupe des Langues. The M.O.I. did not have the responsibility for deciding to recruit a given candidate, but merely forwarded his details to the F.T.P. Only once has the M.O.I. been concerned with any order relating to military training of communists or the setting up of military cadres. In 1945 before the dissolution of the F.T.P. ex-resistance fighters returning to civilian life often still possessed arms. An order was given by the P.C.F. that military training should be practised by party members and that the sections were to organize this. In the case of foreign language groups, the M.O.I. transmitted this order.

Conclusions

- (1) There can be little doubt that the West European Communist Parties have taken steps to ensure their future clandestine existence by planning shadow organizations.
- (2) Several Parties have introduced new security measures into the normal current work of the Party to protect information relating to Party organization etc.
- (3) A larger part of the normal current work of several, if not all, of the Parties is now being conducted in a clandestine manner.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(4) There is some evidence, which will need to be considerably supplemented before it can be fully accepted, that the French Communist Party is planning some form of maquis to operate under the control of the Party's illegal organization in the event of war.

(5) There is no reliable evidence to show that any Party had created special secret organizations to carry out violent or illegal acts now. The possibility of the creation of such organizations cannot of course be ruled out; but if they exist no reliable information is available about them.

~~SECRET~~